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ABSTRACT

This paper was written in response to questions about the future of New York State's higher education opportunity programs, and to raise related issues that might be addressed in the 1980 New York Statewide Plan for Postsecondary Education. The introduction to the paper discusses the history of the democratization of higher education, the development of postsecondary programs for the disadvantaged, and postsecondary enrollment trends and projections for New York in the 1980's. The second section of the paper presents the premises upon which State policy considerations rest, that is, the goals established by the Board of Regents for developing higher education opportunity programs. In the third section, the issue of remedial education on the postsecondary level is discussed. Recommendations and strategies for their attainment are presented in the fourth section. They address the areas of enrollment and recruitment, the location of special remedial programs and inter-institutional cooperation, financing programs and tuition, and college entrance requirements. (MK)

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Equality of Educational Opportunity in the 80's:

Directions for Postsecondary Education in New York State

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Department of Education

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FOREWORD

This paper was written partly to respond to questions about the future of New York's higher education opportunity programs, and partly to raise related issues as they might be addressed in the 1980 New York Statewide Plan for Postsecondary Education. The ideas are intended to be provocative, rather than exhaustive. I hope they will stimulate discussion and new initiatives aimed at enhancing postsecondary educational opportunity for all who desire it.

I wish to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Ann Eldridge and Glenwood Rowse of the Office of Postsecondary Policy Analysis in the New York State Education Department.

Stephen H. Adolphus
3/80

Equality of Educational Opportunity in the 80's

Summary of Recommendations

Increasing democratization of higher education coupled with the demographics of the 80's--fewer potential students, more of whom will be underprepared and in other ways untypical--call for new approaches to access to equal educational opportunity. The special opportunity programs, called into existence in the late 60's to address the problem of racial integration of postsecondary education, have largely succeeded. Now the services and sensitivities they represent must be extended to larger populations.

Specific recommendations follow:

Recommendation 1: The Regents goal of access should be expanded to include the concept of equal educational opportunity, which means that all persons admitted to postsecondary institutions should have an equal chance, through the provision of needed services, to reach the standards expected of a degree recipient.

*Recommendation 2: Each of the sectors should strengthen its efforts to increase the numbers of minorities in educational programs beyond the baccalaureate. Such efforts should include, but not be limited to, cooperative efforts with secondary and baccalaureate programs, with industry, with the State Boards for the Professions, and with practitioner groups. Results of such efforts should be reported in institutional 1982 Progress Reports.

*Recommendation 3: In the coming period of decline, State policy should be directed to assure that a mix of students by ability and social backgrounds is maintained in institutions in all sectors and regions of the State.

Recommendation 4: The Regents should promulgate a Master Plan for the Education of Postsecondary Non-College Youth, which more clearly sets forth the strengths and boundaries of each enterprise and enhances cooperation among them all.

*Recommendation 5: State University should devise a Plan for the Educational Opportunity Centers which sets forth more explicitly the University's expectations for the Centers, suggests a public accountability system, and describes standards of quality and performance in their nontraditional activities. This should be provided in the University's 1982 Progress Report.

*Recommendation 6: The Regents should, in consultation with affected constituences, develop a State student financial aid policy based on a consistent expectation of parental contribution and student self-help, including loans, regardless of sector.

*Recommendation 7: Any further increases in State student financial aid should concentrate first on assuring access and choice for the very poor, based on realistic expectations of student and family contribution, including loans.

*Recommendation 8: The Tuition Assistance Program formula should be revised to provide enriched grants for the very poor (those meeting the economic criteria of the opportunity programs). This enriched support should be available for tuition or other college costs.

*Recommendation 9: Operating support of State University and City University should be in part calculated by the numbers of students with special needs served. This could take the form of standard rates for base budgeting and a system of bonuses for serving students with special needs. These needs include academic underpreparedness, non-English dominance, handicapping conditions, extreme poverty, adulthood, and minority status. Such a policy would lead to significant shifting of allocation of resources or some change in total levels of funding.

*Recommendation 10: The Bundy aid program should be restructured to establish a lower "basic" award and bonus awards for service to the groups listed above. The basis for a bonus system could be through use of the currently unfunded portion of the authorized appropriation for Bundy aid in 1980-81 or in future years. A parallel system of support, probably using a contractual mechanism, would need to be provided for non-Bundy-eligible independent institutions.

Recommendation 11: The capitation aid formulae for independent medical and dental schools should be revised to encourage participation of previously underrepresented groups, including minorities, women, and the handicapped, through a bonus system. The bonus concept, but not the capitation approach, should be selectively extended to other professional areas with severe underrepresentation, including but not limited to law and veterinary medicine.

Recommendation 12: TAP entitlement should be extended to five years for all students satisfying good academic standing requirements.

Recommendation 13: A pre-TAP entitlement program should be established for students required as a result of diagnostic testing to enroll in solely remedial work. Such entitlement should be limited to two semesters of full or part-time equivalent (including summer) attendance and should not diminish the normal TAP entitlement.

*Recommendation 14: Numbers of admitted students who have failed the Regents Competency Test (RCT) should be used to determine academic unpreparedness in connection with the enriched formulae described above. Older students or dropouts should be required to take the test at time of college admission for purposes of determining their academic service needs.

Recommendation 15: The Regents Rule requiring high school preparation for college entrance should be eliminated. The Departmental policy of requiring colleges to demonstrate they can effectively serve the needs of those they admit should be reinforced through incorporation in the normal procedures for academic program review.

Recommendation 16: The "24-credit" option for the high school diploma should be eliminated.

*Recommendation 17: Remedial and developmental programs should be evaluated and approved through a process analogous to existing program registration requirements.

*Recommendation 18: Passing a statewide test of college competency at least in writing should be required of all students prior to entering their junior year or enrolling for more than 60 credits.

*Recommendation 19: Students should not be permitted to enroll in more than twelve total hours of credit coursework unless they have demonstrated minimum secondary school proficiency through passing the Regents Competency Test or other instruments judged equivalent by the Commissioner.

Recommendation 20: In its program review function, the Department should make sure that institutions admitting large numbers of bilingual students provide appropriate quality programs, including the availability of English as a second language instruction, ancillary services such as tutoring and counseling, and appropriate curricular offerings.

*Recommendation 21: While bilingual postsecondary education, including instruction in languages other than English, is a promising technique for serving the needs of non-English dominant and English-dominant students alike, all degree recipients in the State should be English proficient.

*Recommendation 22: Attainment of minimal English proficiency is a prerequisite for college work. Thus ESL instruction should not carry credit when concentrating on attaining a facility in English through the twelfth grade level.

*Recommendation 23: The state special opportunity programs should be phased out with the implementation of Recommendations 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17 and 20, accompanied by a system of strict accountability for effective service delivery and quality control for all disadvantaged and underserved students.

*Recommendation 24: Institutions should begin to plan for the continuation and coordination of their various services to students in need of special assistance and intervention--minorities, the poor, the underprepared, the handicapped, bilingual students, older returning students, et al--using where extant the State special opportunity program as a base. Institutional and sector 1982 Progress Reports should contain such a plan for implementation by no later than 1985.

*Indicates possible Master Plan recommendation.

I. Introduction

A. Democratization in Higher Education

As New York enters the 1980's, changes in the environment of higher education, especially in the mix of students to be served, require that we give close examination to problems associated with increasing access to, and choice of, quality education for population groups which are underserved or underprepared. College enrollments in the 1980's and 1990's are likely to comprise a much more heterogeneous student body, as the total pool of potential applicants shrinks simultaneously with a rapid expansion of that proportion of the pool characterized as nontraditional.

American higher education has undergone a process of increasing democratization. From the Revolution to the Civil War, the institutions and academies which provided collegiate education largely served a social elite. Their alumni became the lawyers, doctors, clergy, and financiers of the upper middle class who enjoyed both social status and ability to pay.

The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 signalled the opening of a long era of increasing academic meritocracy. With the rise of the great public universities, postsecondary institutions turned their attention from a social to an intellectual elite. The same period--the last half of the nineteenth century--saw the establishment of the historically black colleges, with both private sponsorship and the support of the Federal government. These institutions provided a principal avenue for the educational aspirations of the black community, as minority access to other existing institutions continued to be limited, by tradition and by design.

In the early twentieth century, increasing affluence and urbanization led to expanding desire for higher education. At the same time, a rising belief in the "scientific" ability to measure intelligence, based on the work of Binet

and others in "IQ" testing, culminated in the 1920's in the use of precursors of the Scholastic Aptitude Test. Thus, the great change in emphasis in this century was from social to academic criteria for college admissions. Still, students in postsecondary education until the end of the second world war were largely white, from middle and upper-middle class families, while non-white students were restricted from entering all but a handful of institutions regardless of family status. The enactment of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) in 1944 marked the beginning of a new stage in American higher education: the age of entitlement or opportunity. The benefits available to veterans ensured a much broader socio-economic spectrum in entering freshman classes beginning in 1946. The post-war "baby boom" began to make its impact felt on college enrollments in the 1960's. The community colleges, envisioned since 1948 as the vehicle for abolition of barriers to educational opportunity, experienced major growth during this period. Since the community colleges tended to serve population groups not well represented at the "traditional" institutions, this movement also contributed to the racial and social stratification of post-secondary education.

During the decade of the 1960's, financial aid entitlement programs grew rapidly. Nothing has more greatly contributed to the expansion of access to post-secondary education in this country than the adoption of a need-based financial aid system on a scale undreamed of 20 years ago. The vision behind this policy is expressed in the Regents access goal: that economic status should not be a barrier to the opportunity to pursue postsecondary education. This expanded access enfranchised thousands of students, since poor educational achievement consistently accompanies low income status; it also increased significantly the number of students with substantial academic underpreparedness in colleges and universities.

These phenomena and demographic trends will soon result in a student population so different in its needs from a quarter of a century ago that the very nature of postsecondary education will inevitably undergo radical changes. What these needs will be, where and how they can best be addressed, and especially, how the costs can and should be met, are crucial issues which must be considered.

B. Postsecondary Programs for the Disadvantaged

Nearly all the extant "opportunity" programs--the Federally funded Special Services for Disadvantaged Students; EOP in California; Act 101 in Pennsylvania;EOF in New Jersey; EOP, HEOP, CD and SEEK in New York; and numerous locally sponsored variants--share a common beginning in the 1960's. At the time when Brown vs Board of Education, in 1954, signalled a rise in aspirations for blacks, American's ethnic minorities were greatly underrepresented in, and in some cases still actively excluded from, the nation's postsecondary institutions.

However, in the next several years the "Sputnik climate" brought about the National Defense Education Act, with the first widely available Federal grants and loans for college, and the Kennedy-Johnson administrations held out promises of equal opportunity in many areas, symbolized in higher education by the admission of James Meredith to the formerly segregated University of Mississippi. Finally, the civil rights movement, the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., and numerous campus and community demonstrations and incidents brought about a social climate more responsive than ever before to racial integration of higher education.

The publicly funded opportunity programs were born in this climate, all in a short period in the mid and late sixties. They share certain characteristics: an "easing" of traditional admissions requirements; more counseling than is normally available; special remedial or developmental course work; a requirement of

poverty status; and tutoring. And while none of the publicly funded programs is racially exclusive, all retain a clear minority emphasis, in staff as well as students. The opportunity program office at most campuses is one of the few locations in the establishment which is clearly minority "turf." Significant percentages of all minority students at campuses with such programs are enrolled through those vehicles and employment in such programs amounts for an even higher percentage of all minority professional staff in postsecondary education. Thus any discussion of major changes in such programs calls forth strong resonances in minority communities.

These programs have been unquestionably successful in achieving their first agenda--furthering the racial integration of undergraduate education. For instance, the percent of black students in undergraduate study in New York has increased from fewer than five percent in the late 60's to more than double that figure, and approaches the percent of blacks in the entire 18-24 age cohort of the State. This increase is largely attributable to the opportunity programs, both through direct enrollment and through "critical mass" effects at a number of campuses.

In terms of bringing students through to graduation, these programs have had varying degrees of success. The difference seems attributable to a combination of the following variables: program scale (inefficiencies of large size); administrative oversight; screening (for learning disabilities, motivation); effective remedial strategies. However, one can state that opportunity programs at their best produce academic results, in terms of graduation, comparable to or exceeding those of the regularly admitted student population. With the shift in goals from equality of access to equality of outcomes, coupled with institutional needs to retain admitted students in a shrinking market, colleges

must discover and adopt effective methods to reduce attrition. That the techniques of the opportunity programs are now in the process of being adopted on a large scale for use with much broader populations at many institutions is a sure sign of success.

However, these programs now face severe problems, especially in the areas of finance and mission. New York's programs are the only ones, state or Federal, which use approaches for funding and administration which differentiate between the public and independent colleges. A strict formula-funding approach at the public institutions has greatly limited flexibility and innovation, while lack of a contractual agreement has reduced administrative controls and accountability enforcement. In the independent sector, ambivalence from appropriation sources about whether the program is the responsibility of the State or of the institution has held per-student allocations for expenses and services at levels grossly below actual inflation-driven costs. This imposes severely unequal burdens on students and forces institutions either to devote disproportionate amounts of their discretionary resources to one of many groups of needy students or to reconsider program participation.

At the same time, great numbers of students with similar characteristics, including the same academic or economic needs, or both, are entering the system. This compels administrators to consider the ethics of limiting services to only one group. At the community colleges of City University, there is effectively no longer a College Discovery program. Its resources are mixed with institutional resources in an attempt to serve what is essentially a student body in which nearly all persons are "disadvantaged."

With undergraduate ethnic integration achieved, with financial aid much more widely available, with many ethnic minorities and poor persons not able to

be admitted to special programs, with remedial/developmental education becoming necessary and available for a considerably wider audience, where lies the future of these programs? The following section explores in greater detail how students in the near future will force answers to this question.

C. Trends and Projections

The mix of students attending colleges is clearly going to change during the 1980's. Recent birth rate and population migration patterns will result in a higher proportion of older, poorer, minority,and less well academically prepared students. Social shifts and new marketing emphases by colleges may also result in a mix that includes even higher proportions of adult, minority, part-time, and female students.

Enrollments by Age and Sex: Demographic shifts will lead to larger proportions of older and part-time students. Simulations of enrollments for 1990 suggest that over 15 percent of the full-time, first-time students will be age 25 or older, as compared to 9 percent in 1978. In addition, 37 percent rather than 30 percent of the undergraduates will be attending part-time. Since colleges are expected to try to attract even greater numbers of adult students, it is likely that the proportions of older and part-time students will be even greater. The number of adult students is expected to remain relatively stable or possibly to rise slightly.

In 1978, the participation rates of women in postsecondary education exceeded those of men for the first time in New York State and even exceeded the recent peak participation rates for men. Because some of this participation has surely involved "underserved" adult women, a pool which may soon be saturated, this rate may not continue to rise, and might well decline slightly in the coming decade. A reasonable assumption is that the proportion of women

attending will remain constant, but that more of them will be older.

These trends imply increased recruiting and service costs both to attract students and to process applications. As colleges become more competitive, the total numbers of applications an institution must process to attain the same number of students will increase. Attracting older students may also require more off-campus locations for instruction, night and weekend use of classrooms, a larger number of courses with fewer students per course, increased counseling services, and child care services on campus. Unfortunately, the increased costs of these changes are not easily estimated and would vary from institution to institution dependent upon programs already in place.

Financial aid provides one means to attract adult students and to ensure full access to higher education. A recent proposal for part-time tuition assistance was estimated at up to $40,000,000 per year. While this procedure might increase part-time enrollments by 10-15 percent, full-time undergraduates might decline by several percent as full-time students switched to a part-time option. The Federal Basic Education Opportunity Grants (BEOG) already provide access for part-time students.

Enrollments by Wealth/Ethnicity: Declining birth rates for women of child bearing age in middle and upper income families, higher birth rates for teenagers and women in lower income families, a generally declining standard of living, and emigration from the State dominated by the families of highly educated professionals, all lead toward a less wealthy population and pool of prospective students. It is unlikely that the demographic influences leading toward a higher proportion of low income families will be offset in the foreseeable future.

The wealth or income distribution of the families of college students is not directly known or easily forecast. Approximately 57-65 percent

of New York's full-time undergraduates received tuition assistance from the State between 1975-76 and 1977-78. Of these students, 42 and 49 percent were estimated to have net taxable family incomes of less than $5,000 in 1975-76 and 1977-78 respectively. It is reasonable to assume that those students not receiving tuition aid were from families with higher incomes or were not New York State residents. Thus approximately 24-32 percent of all full-time undergraduates were from families having annual incomes of less than $5,000 during those two years. These proportions of very low-income college students will increase, due to the increase in the proportion of minority students and the exodus of families holding high income jobs, unless society finds a way to break these patterns.

Table 1 summarizes birth rate statistics for whites and nonwhites since 1957. Since nonwhite women, overall, have higher birth rates, the proportion of nonwhite births is greater than the proportion of nonwhite adult females. Moreover, the pool of women of child bearing age has been steadily becoming more nonwhite. The number of white women of child bearing age (15-39) increased seven percent between 1971 and 1977, but the number of nonwhite women of child-bearing age increased 30 percent during that same period. The population shifts and rate shifts together produced a 16 percent drop in white births and a three percent increase in nonwhite births between 1971 and 1977.

The greatest impact of these changes will be felt after 1990, but school enrollment data show this trend already. We can continue to expect regular increases in the proportion of nonwhite college students throughout the 1980's (see Table 2). Since minority status and low income are at present positively correlated, we might also expect that at least as many and probably more students will be eligible for maximum awards as are now eligible, given the continuance of current eligibility criteria.

Table 1

Birth Rates in New York State

1957 - 1977

	Female Population Ages 15-39 A	Percent Nonwhite Population All Sex & Age Groups B	Estimated Nonwhite Females Ages 15-39 (A B)	Live Births Over 1000 Total Population C	Live Births Per 1000 White Females Age 15-39 D	Live Births Per 1000 Nonwhite Females Age 15-39 E	Live Births Per White Female Per 24 Yrs. (24 D) / 1000	Live Births Per Non-White Female per 24 Yrs. (24 E) / 1000
1957				22.0				
1960				21.3				
1965				18.9				
1970	3,246,122	12.9%	418,750	17.3				
1971	3,234,275	13.2	433,524	15.4	100	123	2.4	3.0
1972	3,322,428	13.5	448,528	13.7	89	110	2.2	2.6
1973	3,360,580	13.8	463,760	13.0	84	104	2.0	2.5
1974	3,443,886	14.3	492 476	13.2	81	102	1.9	2.4
1975	3,475,039	14.6	507,356	13.0	79	103	1.9	2.5
1976	3,524,654	14.9	525,173	13.0	78	100	1.9	2.4
1977	3,574,269	15.2	543,289	13.4	79	101	1.9	2.4

SOURCES: Vital Statistics of New York State 1973
State Department of Health, Office of Biostatistics
(same for 1977)

1978 Official Population Projections for New York State Counties, State of New York Executive Department, Economics Development Board, January 1978.

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1978, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, September 1978.

TABLE 2
FIRST & TWELFTH GRADE ENROLLMENT
IN NEW YORK STATE BY RACE/ETHNICITY
1970 & 1978

	Race/Ethnicity					
	Indian	Black	Oriental	Hispanic	White	Total
First-Grade						
Number						
1970	627	54,205	2,315	36,238	259,033	352,418
1978	510	41,452	5,301	31,248	167,285	245,796
Percent						
1970	0.18%	15.38	0.66	10.28	73.50	100.00
1978	0.21	16.86	2.16	12.71	68.06	100.00
Twelfth-Grade						
Number						
1970	261	20,656	1,384	10,917	214,141	247,359
1978	474	31,070	3,163	15,972	207,047	257,726
Percent						
1970	0.11%	8.35	0.56	4.41	86.57	100.00
1978	0.18	12.06	1.23	6.20	80.34	100.00

SOURCE: NYSED, Office of Postsecondary Research, Information Systems & Institutional Aid
[illegible] - 2/80

Enrollments By Academic Preparedness and Special Needs: While salutary moves are underway to improve the effectiveness of the pre-college educational system of the State, such major institutional change will not happen overnight. For the next ten years at least, the high correlation typically found between ethnicity and income and academic preparedness must realistically be used for estimating needs. Table 3 forecasts 30 percent nonwhite high school graduates for 1990, an increase of 50 percent over the 20 percent figure of 1979. The figure probably is similar for low income students. From 1963 to 1970, the national average verbal SAT scores dropped by 18 points; from 1970 to 1977, the scores dropped another 30 points. There is no evidence of an abatement of the trend. The New Jersey Basic Skills Council reports that 70 percent of entering college freshmen at public institutions in that State had scores on the statewide basic skills entrance examination indicating need for remediation. In addition, lack of preparedness characterizes many of the older, poorer, and minority students discussed above. Assuming an equivalent increase in the proportion of underprepared students, the number of these students will remain almost constant through 1990, while the total freshman enrollments may decline by a third. If attempts are made to increase the low participation rates of these groups, the proportional increase could be considerably greater. Implementation of programs at the elementary and secondary levels to prepare students better and to reduce dropouts might help to offset the increase.

In fall 1978, nearly 8,000 students were registered in English as a second language (ESL) courses at degree-granting institutions in the State. In 1976-77, 3.4 percent of all baccalaureate degrees went to Hispanic students; 6.2 percent of the public school 12th grade enrollment was Hispanic; and 12.3 percent of the first grade enrollment was Hispanic. Three variables, birthrate, immigration,

and attrition contribute to these figures. Together they point to a potentially greatly increased proportion of college students in the 1980's for whom English is not the first language.

Table 3
PROJECTED DISTRIBUTION OF
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN NEW YORK STATE
BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND REGENTS REGION

Regents Region	Year	Race/Ethnicity					
		Indian	Black	Oriental	Hispanic	White	Total
Western	1978-79	0.5%	7.2%	0.2%	0.8%	91.3%	100.0%
	1989-90	1.1	8.7	1.8	1.2	87.[illegible]	100.0
Genesee Valley	1978-79	0.2	5.7	0.3	1.0	92.8	100.0
	1989-90	0.8	7.1	2.[illegible]	1.6	87.7	100.0
Central	1978-79	0.3	2.7	0.3	0.3	96.4	100.0
	1989-90	0.9	3.8	1.8	0.6	92.9	100.0
Northern	1978-79	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.2	98.6	100.0
	1989-90	2.2	0.2	3.9	0.8	92.9	100.0
Northeast	1978-79	0.0	4.6	0.3	1.3	93.8	100.0
	1989-90	0.1	4.0	1.3	1.1	93.5	100.0
Mid-Hudson	1978-79	0.1	8.7	0.7	2.7	87.8	100.0
	1989-90	3.8	10.0	3.8	5.3	77.1	100.0
New York City	1978-79	0.2	28.0	3.2	18.0	50.6	100.0
	1989-90	0.7	30.4	12.9	20.9	35.1	100.0
Long Island	1978-79	0.1	5.8	0.6	2.4	91.1	100.0
	1989-90	0.2	8.5	5.6	4.7	81.0	100.0
Statewide	1978-79	0.2	12.1	1.2	6.2	80.3	100.0
	1979-80	0.2	12.0	1.4	6.3	80.1	100.0
	1980-81	0.3	12.5	1.6	6.6	79.0	100.0
	1981-82	0.3	13.4	1.8	6.9	77.6	100.0
	1982-83	0.3	13.5	2.0	7.1	77.1	100.0
	1983-84	0.3	13.7	2.3	7.3	76.4	100.0
	1984-85	0.4	13.6	2.7	7.5	75.8	100.0
	1985-86	0.4	13.7	3.2	7.6	75.1	100.0
	1986-87	0.5	13.6	3.6	7.5	74.8	100.0
	1987-88	0.6	14.1	4.3	7.6	73.4	100.0
	1988-89	0.8	13.8	5.0	8.0	72.4	100.0
	1989-90	1.0	14.1	6.2	8.2	70.5	100.0

SOURCE: NYSED: Postsecondary Information Systems/HEDS. (GLR, 7 FEB 80).

Special need students include those with physical and mental handicaps. Elementary and secondary enrollment data show no major changes in the proportions of students having these characteristics over the last eight years. Access for these students has improved and may continue to improve for many of these groups due to recent Federal legislation. If small increases in participation rates occur, then enrollment of these groups in college may decline slightly less than the total decline forecasted.

State Resources: The State is likely to have no more and probably fewer financial resources for higher education in the next ten years than it does now. The tax base in New York State has been declining and, in a very tight economy, other competitors for State funds may find greater support than higher education. In addition, the allocation of those resources given to education will have to be different. Energy costs will require a considerably larger share of available funds and tuition income will decline at a greater rate than will instructional and faculty costs. This paper focuses on another area which is going to require an increase in costs per student, an increase in the proportion of nontraditional students requiring specialized services. Difficult and creative decisions will be needed to provide and extend access to these students in the budgets of the 1980's.

II. Premises

This paper is addressing the problem of serving new postsecondary populations in the 1980's, while preserving the achievements and best parts of the higher education opportunity programs, which in the 70's carried this burden largely alone, albeit for a narrowly defined although important group.

Any policy considerations operate in the context of the following premises, founded on Regents goals:

1. Sector balance (choice). New York's great strength is in the variety of its postsecondary institutions and maintenance of the vitality of its two public universities and its independent institutions is central. Strategies for serving nontraditional students must not assume the channeling or "streaming" of new populations to or away from any sector. Each has already demonstrated its ability and willingness to help increase access and opportunity.

2. Elimination of remaining barriers to higher education (access). As long as higher education represents an important vehicle for upward mobility in our society, and it does, investment of public resources in extending access to those previously underrepresented will be a social imperative. Among the groups not fully enfranchised, through historical and social circumstances, are included the physically disabled, the elderly, the rural poor, Native Americans, bilingual populations, and minority males.

3. Maintenance of standards and currencies (quality). Since all indications are that the general level of preparedness of students in the 80's will be below the "norm," care must be taken in redesigning financing and administrative structures. If they are too rigid, they may have the unintended effect of forcing academic quality to bend. That is, if institutions are to begin interacting with college students at lower and lower academic levels, and if students are not given the time and resources and services to "catch up," the pressure to change credit, grading, and graduation requirements will be well-nigh irresistible.

4. Cost containment (allocation of scarce resources). There may well be fewer students in postsecondary education, but the remaining ones will cost more if their chances for success are to be equal. Ill-thought out, poorly

managed schemes cannot be tolerated in the coming era. There will be tendencies toward even greater public control of programs with greater public funding, at the time when a wildly heterogeneous population will render absurd the lock-step formula funding which now characterizes much public higher education finance. Policies must be modest in cost but adventurous in concept, able to ensure public accountability and local flexibility, and above all sensitive to the consideration that access to opportunity is worth a very high price.

III. Remedial Education - The Current Context

As more and more students with uncertain preparation for academic success enter postsecondary institutions, the line of demarcation between the tasks of the secondary school and the college or university is becoming increasingly blurred. The question of who should be responsible for promoting adult literacy (however defined) may elicit a variety of answers. At the same time, as the pool of young adults continues to shrink, all the educational entities which rely on them for continued existence will engage in "body hunts" the extent of which is just beginning to emerge.

The efficient and effective use of resources requires that the suppliers of educational services attempt to avoid duplication while retaining a certain measure of choice through diversity. Milieus in which underprepared students may be brought to the point at which they can enter the mainstream of higher education include high schools, BOCES, Educational Opportunity Centers, federally-funded programs such as CETA, community colleges, the armed services, and non-collegiate organizations offering education and training in the workplace. Under the Regents Competency Testing (RCT) Program, students will be able to receive additional education in secondary schools until the age of 21, but high school may not be the place in which these individuals can reverse their

established pattern of failure. In order to multiply the effectiveness of stable or declining resources, it will be necessary to attempt an analysis of the cost-effectiveness of remedial and developmental programs in different settings. Legislators and the public can be expected to resist requests by postsecondary institutions for funding to support educational programs designed to accomplish what has presumably already been paid for by local and State tax levy support of the public schools. There are also serious questions about the points past which postsecondary institutions might be exceeding either their legal charters or the public's perception of their appropriate function.

The position of the Regents has been that college credit should be granted only for college-level work. However, institutions and programs vary enormously in the extent to which they meet or surpass minimum standards. Beginning in 1981, students will be required to demonstrate a level of competency sufficient to pass the RCT in order to receive a high school diploma. Achievements necessary for high school exit, however, are not necessarily the same as those necessary for college entrance. Faced with declining numbers of high school graduates in the 1980's and beyond, colleges will almost certainly be tempted to admit more students who have not completed high school or have the skills to do so. It may be necessary to require standardized diagnostic tests or other objective measures at the time of entrance in order, first, to identify those able to benefit from postsecondary education and, second, to establish and enforce standards for credit and non-credit courses.

The problem is complicated by a lack of clear agreement in the academic community on the symbolism of the college credit. Many argue for a relativistic approach--college credits, especially in beginning courses, should reward students for progress within individual learning continua; as such they

can have a motivational effect. Such an approach can, however well-meaning, lead ultimately to a diluted college experience and devalued diploma for the college student as consumer of education. The Regents position is clear: college credits are awarded only for college-level work successfully mastered.

IV. General Strategies

A. What Mix of Students?

In the past, the Regents goal of access has been expressed in the broadest possible terms. Underlying the goals of access and opportunity is the premise that academic ability and motivation is spread equally throughout the population. From this follows the Regents policy that all groups, including racial and ethnic minorities, should be represented in postsecondary education in proportions roughly equal to their representation in the population at large. In terms of costs, however, as has been noted earlier, minority status shows a persistent correlation both with academic disadvantage and low income. This, in turn, means that the cost of providing postsecondary education on a nondiscriminatory basis must inevitably rise as the proportion of the two largest minority groupings in New York State--black and Hispanic--continues to rise.

The Education Department's 1978-79 survey of racial and ethnic distribution of public school students in New York State shows that the proportion of students belonging to the two largest minority groups has risen from 61.3 percent in 1974-75 to 65.3 percent in 1978-79 in the five largest cities; it has also risen statewide each of the last ten years. Recent Department studies suggest that graduating high school classes in New York City, now made up 50 percent of minority students, will reach 75 percent by 1990. Since a very large proportion of students who attend The City University of New York are drawn from the City, these data have dramatic implications for the future of the student

"mix" at City University. Additionally, the statewide data show clearly that all sectors and all regions of the State will, to some extent, experience this demographic shift (see Table 3).

Other groups mentioned previously as not yet fully represented, such as part-time, poorer, older; bilingual, and less well-prepared students, are analogous to minority students insofar as each represents a greater cost than the "typical" student, if access is expanded to include access to educational opportunity and not just postsecondary entrance. "Opportunity" in this context means providing the extra supports--counseling, special academic work, financial aid--to make the chance for success more nearly equal for all, regardless of circumstances. As a general strategy, then, funding options should take into account the ability levels of entering students and provide additional support to institutions serving students who have been identified as atypically needy, provided always that institutions take care to admit only students with a reasonable chance of success.

The alternative to such a funding method would be a decision to limit access for some categories of students according to some predetermined limit for resource allocation. This alternative is socially, morally, and educationally unacceptable. The long-range goal of equality of both access and opportunity will have been achieved when persons of all the groups in our society are admitted to postsecondary institutions and achieve degrees at all the various levels of study in proportions roughly equal to their proportions in the general population, with ability and motivation, not circumstance, the controlling factor.

Recommendation 1: The Regents goal of access should be expanded to include the concept of equal educational opportunity, which means that all persons admitted to postsecondary institutions should have an equal chance, through the provision of needed services, to reach the standards expected of a degree recipient.

Among the levels of postsecondary education, graduate and professional education fall shortest of the proportional representation of ethnic minorities. Enrollment of blacks and Hispanics in the State's graduate and professional schools has hovered around five percent for the last four years.

*Recommendation 2: Each of the sectors should strengthen its efforts to increase the numbers of minorities in educational programs beyond the baccalaureate. Such efforts should include, but not be limited to, cooperative efforts with secondary and baccalaureate programs, with industry, with the State Boards for the Professions, and with practitioner groups. Results of such efforts should be reported in institutional 1982 Progress Reports.

B. Mix of Institutions

The mix of institutions which will best serve the clientele of the 1980's deserves careful consideration. It is clear that an increase in remedial and other special programs will be needed. It is less clear whether these should be located at secondary or postsecondary levels and in all, or only some, schools or institutions. Any mix of institutions should also maintain student choice at reasonable cost and quality. Questions regarding definitions of access and the mechanism for controlling choice become important.

Location of Remedial and Special Programs: It has been generally agreed that students should be fully prepared for college upon graduating from high school. This is presently not the case for a large number of students. Opportunity programs represent a clear recognition of this problem, but are inadequate for recent and, even more so, for future needs. For some time at least, there will be even greater numbers of underprepared youths and of returning adults who will need remedial work. It is to the benefit of society,

and a moral obligation of society to the students, to insure that each member of this generation of students attains the capability to be a fully contributing member of society.

In addition, it seems most logical to meet the needs of individuals at locations where students are able to pursue other useful activities. For example, many students may need remedial work in only one area and can begin degree credit work in other areas simultaneously. There is no evidence to suggest that remedial work be limited to secondary schools, postsecondary institutions or new or existing bridging institutions. For these reasons, the strategy should be that sufficient resources be made available to meet the needs of students wherever they are enrolled, and that major efforts also be made immediately to improve the elementary and secondary systems, thus ultimately resulting in a reduction in the need for postsecondary special programs.

Choice and Access: It is desirable to maintain a good mix of students across type of institutions and regions of the State. Mixing of students by both ability and social backgrounds is a valuable component of a college education. An open channel to a quality program and a good image of one's institution lead to positive growth and effort. No students should feel they are obtaining, or are constrained by, a second rate education. Thus, institutions should not be discretely partitioned for types of students. For example, we should not have "remedial" types of colleges. Rather we should have good colleges with remedial components. Community colleges, for instance, should be viewed as good for anyone to attend for some specific program or skill.

To achieve this mix of institutions will require both good student aid programs and some control of program quality across institutions and sectors; both are discussed below.

*Recommendation 3: In the coming period of decline, State policy should be directed to assure that a mix of students by ability and social backgrounds is maintained in institutions in all sectors and regions of the State.

Bridging Institutions: Education of persons who are beyond compulsory school-leaving age, especially in vocational areas, basic skills, English as a second language, and college preparation, is currently provided by a number of institutions which increasingly and realistically view one another as competitors. They include, along with postsecondary institutions, the high schools (up to age 21), Boards of Cooperative Educational Services, State University's Educational Opportunity Centers, federally-funded Adult Learning Centers, and community organizations. The entrepreneurial tendencies and survival instincts of education enterprise in a shrinking student market are leading to an unhealthy situation. Unquestionably there is a need for serving the student who needs basic or college readiness skills, but such students are not best served, from public resources expended, in the bazaar atmosphere which may soon prevail.

Unclear mandates and "territory" for several of these enterprises cloud the issue further. The Regents have authority for some, but not all of these institutions. The Educational Opportunity Centers as part of the State University can potentially play a strong role here. However, there is a need for a clearer definition of their mission as it is related to the University system as a whole, especially in light of recent budgetary constraints at the State University.

Table 4

SOURCES OF REVENUE FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE

	Estimated 1978-79	
State Appropriations		31%
To Institutions	25%	
To students	6	
Federal Appropriations		18
To institutions	12	
To students	6	
Local Government Appropriations		7
Institutional Revenues (other than tution and fees)		25
Other (Students, Parents, Institutional & Local Scholarships)		19
Total from All Sources		100%
State Appropriation to Education As a Percent of Total State Revenues		12.9%

SOURCE: NYSED, Postsecondary Research, Information Systems and Institutional Aid

CLR-9/79

Recommendation 4: The Regents should promulgate a Master Plan for the Education of Postsecondary Non-College Youth, which more clearly sets forth the strengths and boundaries of each enterprise and enhances cooperation among them all.

*Recommendation 5: State University should devise a Plan for the Educational Opportunity Centers which sets forth more explicitly the University's expectations for the Centers, suggests a public accountability system, and describes standards of quality and performance in their nontraditional activities. This should be provided in the University's 1982 Progress Report.

C. What Mix of Financing Mechanisms?

Among the policy issues to be addressed is how much support should come from various revenue sources. Table 4 provides an estimate of contributions to postsecondary education by various revenue sources for 1978-79. By altering the proportion of State appropriations which goes to institutions and students, the proportion of total costs paid by students and parents is influenced as is the total level of revenues available. If such a change also affects participation rates, then total revenues will change in other ways.

A problem is that there is no consensus on "reasonable" amounts parents might be expected to contribute to their children's education, either as a percentage of income or in fixed amounts. The expected "parental contribution" of financial aid methodologies changes to conform to political pressures. For the very poorest student, while access to some sort of higher education is fiscally possible (if the student is full time), choice, in terms of sector alternatives, is considerably less than it currently is for even the student from a middle-class family.

*Recommendation 6: The Regents should, in consultation with affected constituences, develop a State student financial aid policy based on a consistent expectation of parental contribution and student self-help, including loans, regardless of sector.

*Recommendation 7: Any further increases in State student financial aid should concentrate first on assuring access and choice for the very poor, based on realistic expectations of student and family contribution, including loans.

Special help for the very poor is now available in the State through the opportunity programs. This is increasingly unfair as more and more students share so many of the same characteristics as those served by the special programs. Yet the opportunity programs are highly specialized in their service approach and entrance criteria. Even the combination of Federal assistance (notably BEOG) with TAP does not fully fund the very poor in this State, at the public or especially the independent institutions.

*Recommendation 8: The Tuition Assistance Program formula should be revised to provide enriched grants for the very poor (those meeting the economic criteria of the opportunity programs). This enriched support should be available for tuition or other college costs.

The concepts embodied in the term "equal educational opportunity" include differential service systems for students with different needs (underpreparedness, handicap, poverty) in order to produce equal results (parity of opportunity to achieve the degree). Differential financing to achieve desirable ends can be both a recognition of the costs involved and a motivational device to encourage institutions to reach out to underserved populations.

In terms of direct institutional subsidies, a small start has been made in this area with a bonus condition for State aid to community colleges which serve more than a certain percentage of "disadvantaged" students in their service area. However, the "disadvantaged" definition is narrowly drawn and the condition difficult to meet and to monitor. There is no such program at the State-operated campuses of State University and City University.

*Recommendation 9: Operating support of State University and City University should be in part calculated by the numbers of students with special needs served. This could take the form of standard rates for base budgeting and a system of bonuses for serving students with special needs. These needs include academic underpreparedness, non-English dominance, handicapping conditions, extreme poverty, adulthood, and minority status. Such a policy would lead to significant shifting of allocation of resources or some change in total levels of funding.

Independent college subsidies--so-called Bundy aid--have heretofore been administered on an across-the board per-graduate basis, as a general strategy of protecting that sector's viability. The independent colleges have an important role to play in continuing the enfranchisement of nontraditional populations and should be encouraged to do so.

*Recommendation 10: The Bundy aid program should be restructured to establish a lower "basic" award and bonus awards for service to the groups listed above. The basis for a bonus system could be through use of the currently unfunded portion of the authorized appropriation for Bundy aid in 1980-81 or in future years. A parallel system of support, probably using a contractual mechanism, would need to be provided for non-Bundy-eligible independent institutions.

The implementation of the above three recommendations, under a system of accountability and quality control, will lead to expanded services and opportunities for the college population of the 80's. Under such circumstances the need for the current structure of special opportunity programs will be obviated.

At the most prestigious professional education levels, where the disadvantaged remain so underrepresented, recognition should be granted for the costs in terms of recruitment and services of serving hitherto underrepresented groups.

Recommendation 11: The capitation aid formulae for independent medical and dental schools should be revised to encourage participation of previously underrepresented groups, including minorities, women, and the handicapped, through a bonus system. The bonus concept, but not the capitation approach, should be selectively extended to other professional areas with severe underrepresentation, including but not limited to law and veterinary medicine.

Underprepared students can be served effectively through a continuation of strategies including counseling, tutoring, intensive pre-freshman summer programs, learning centers, remedial non-credit coursework, developmental classes (which combine non-credit and credit work) and reduced courseloads. The first four can be financed through institutional subsidy, as described above. The latter three cannot be effectively supported without changes in the State's student financial aid programs. Only in the special opportunity programs are time-lengthened strategies for achieving the degree supported

under the Tuition Assistance Program. The Federal Basic Educational Opportunity Grant may be extended to a five-year entitlement when the Higher Education Act is reauthorized; New Jersey's TAP equivalent (TAG) carries a six-year entitlement. Proposed new Commissioner's Regulations related to State student aid programs will allow a definition of "satisfactory academic progress" which permits a student to take up to ten semesters to achieve the baccalaureate. Further, unlike BEOG, the TAP program requires students to enroll in some credit work from the time of first entry, limiting the pool which the colleges can serve effectively or bringing pressure on the quality of the credit-award process.

More and more students are entering postsecondary education whose levels of preparedness require both some purely remedial pre-college work and more than eight semesters to complete the baccalaureate. The only pragmatic alternative for institutions serving such students, if financial aid is not available throughout the process, is to lower credit award and graduation standards.

Recommendation 12: TAP entitlement should be extended to five years for all students satisfying good academic standing requirements.

Recommendation 13: A pre-TAP entitlement program should be established for students required as a result of diagnostic testing to enroll in solely remedial work. Such entitlement should be limited to two semesters of full or part-time equivalent (including summer) attendance and should not diminish the normal TAP entitlement.

D. What Mix of Quality Controls?

Several of the above strategies will require a consensus definition of academic underpreparedness. One of our neighboring states, New Jersey, has implemented an ambitious program for testing the basic skills of every entering public college freshman, and many independent institutions in that State are

voluntarily participating as well. Fall 1979 results show that 70 percent of all such students in New Jersey require some degree of remediation.

New York is fortunate in having developed a test of minimum expected high school graduation competencies through extensive community discussion and involvement. The Regents Competency Test will provide a widely accepted vehicle for assessing a student's level of preparedness.

*Recommendation 14: Numbers of admitted students who have failed the Regents Competency Test (RCT) should be used to determine academic unpreparedness in connection with the enriched formulae described above. Older students or dropouts should be required to take the test at time of college admission for purposes of determining their academic service needs.

A long-standing myth in the academic community has been that the high school diploma is required for college entrance. Rules and Regulations are unclear on this point. In one case they require evidence of secondary school preparation. In another they implicitly provide for an exception through the "24-credit" rule whereby non-high school graduates can achieve the general equivalency diploma by completing any 24 credits' worth of college work. In fact, many colleges in all the sectors are admitting increasing numbers of non-high school graduates, with skills levels as low as the fifth grade, a trend which might be expected to increase in the short run as the college age cohort shrinks, its percentage of poor and minority students increases, and the RCT's become fully operational.

Recommendation 15: The Regents Rule requiring high school preparation for college entrance should be eliminated. The Departmental policy of requiring colleges to demonstrate they can effectively serve the needs of those they admit should be reinforced through incorporation in the normal procedures for academic program review.

Recommendation 16: The "24-credit" option for the high school diploma should be eliminated.

The provision of remedial work has already become big business at our urban institutions and is one of the few "growth fields" for the 80's. While this is the area where, in the pyramidal nature of education, the greatest number of students will be found in the 80's, paradoxically there are the fewest quality controls now available for monitoring these programs, outside of the central administrations of the opportunity programs. Additionally, implementation of many of the preceding recommendations will include the strengthening of services to the underprepared. A quality control through regular review policy would have the effects of assuring public accountability for the investment, protecting the interests of the student consumers of the service, and increasing the status of the professionals who staff and administer such programs. Such review should include both process and product, as passage of students to set levels of preparedness in college skills lends itself to quantitative measurement.

*Recommendation 17: Remedial and developmental programs should be evaluated and approved through a process analogous to existing program registration requirements.

Concern is frequently expressed that expanding access inevitably debases academic currencies through lowering standards for grades, credit awards, and degrees. In a time of rapidly changing constituencies, many of whom are underprepared upon entrance, postsecondary institutions must be able to ensure those concerned of the continuing high quality of their product. A statewide test of the skills of college graduates has some immediate appeal,

but the idea is in the end self-defeating, as the armamentarium of skills and concepts of the well-educated college graduate is not so simplistically measured. It is more realistic to consider intermediate approaches to ensure levels of skill necessary for mastery of upper-division coursework such as the City University has successfully implemented. This has the concomitant effect of at least assuring that baccalaureate holders in the State can read and write with minimal college-level proficiency.

*Recommendation 18. Passing a statewide test of college competency at least in writing should be required of all students prior to entering their junior year or enrolling for more than 60 credits.

At lower levels, a key issue is at what point the difficulty and nature of the curriculum passes from the secondary to the postsecondary level. With the shift in goals from equality of access to equality of outcomes, coupled with institutional needs to retain admitted students in a shrinking market, colleges must discover and adopt effective methods to reduce attrition. Measures of the level of student preparedness are more equitable and efficient than either peer review of the process or judgments based on the age of the students. With certain forms of financial aid so closely linked to the credit-noncredit issue, and an important quality issue inherent in this context as well, resolution of the problem is vital. It is important to assure access and equally important to be sure that students are able to demonstrate their ability to benefit from such access within a reasonable period of time.

*Recommendation 19: Students should not be permitted to enroll in more than twelve total hours of credit coursework unless they have demonstrated minimum secondary school proficiency through passing the Regents Competency Test or other instruments judged equivalent by the Commissioner.

The admission of increasing numbers of non-English-dominant students in the decade of the 80's will pose a set of quality-related questions as institutions seek to serve this growing pool. A recent Department survey shows more than 100 institutions already serving substantial numbers of "bilingual" students, many of whom are not proficient in either a first language or English. In addition to helping such students adapt to this country's language and culture, institutions have an obligation to help such students gain or retain proficiency in their first language and a mature understanding of their cultural origin and traditions.

Recommendation 20: In its program review function, the Department should make sure that institutions admitting large numbers of bilingual students provide appropriate quality programs, including the availability of English as a second language instruction, ancillary services such as tutoring and counseling, and appropriate curricular offerings.

*Recommendation 21: While bilingual postsecondary education, including instruction in languages other than English, is a promising technique for serving the needs of non-English dominant and English-dominant students alike, all degree recipients in the State should be English proficient.

*Recommendation 22: Attainment of minimal English proficiency is a prerequisite for college work. Thus ESL instruction should not carry credit when concentrating on attaining a facility in English through the twelfth grade level.

V. Beyond Opportunity Programs

The above recommendations taken together suggest a system for serving the needs of a heterogeneous college student population which includes many persons who share some of the characteristics associated with students in the higher education opportunity programs. These include poverty, minority status,

and academic underpreparedness. Careful implementation of these recommendations will provide for many of the supportive academic and economic underpinnings for many students that only the special programs can now provide to a very limited number.

As implementation of the above recommendations concerning opportunity programs proceeds, great care must be exercised to preserve and build on the pioneering efforts of the last ten years and the strength and dedication their staffs represent. Further, whatever the mix of students on our campuses may become, the need for special sensitivity to and advocacy for the needs of ethnic minorities and the disadvantaged will not so quickly pass away. In expanding their capacity to serve all students with special needs, institutions should use the special programs as the established base on which to build.

*Recommendation 23: The state special opportunity programs should be phased out with the implementation of Recommendations 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17 and 20, accompanied by a system of strict accountability for effective service delivery and quality control for all disadvantaged and underserved students.

*Recommendation 24: Institutions should begin to plan for the continuation and coordination of their various services to students in need of special assistance and intervention--minorities, the poor, the underprepared, the handicapped, bilingual students, older returning students, et al--using where extant the State special opportunity program as a base. Institutional and sector 1982 Progress Reports should contain such a plan for implementation by no later than 1985.

*Indicates possible Master Plan recommendation.